10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina



a piece of land within that area. "My husband, who was the cacique," 648
explained an 80-year-old Quilaquina woman, "was given five leguas of land for his people, bordering on this lake, Lake Lacar [probably 15 miles of lake front] (pl. 64, *1, 2*). He let his people settle on it. We thought that land belonged to us. Then the tourists began to settle on it and we lost all the land bordering on the lake. Again we had to move. Our family moved up here, onto the mountainside; down there on the shore of the lake you can still see the orchard of our old place. I have fears, sometimes now, that the Government will also take the land on which we now live." The following quotation from an informant is typical of the feeling of insecurity of many persons regarding land holding: "I lived in one place for 39 years but had to leave it when they took our land. Then I leased land from the Government in another locality. Not long after that the Government laid out national parks in that area. They wanted me to move off my place, but I refused to do so. In consequence they turned my house over and burned it. We lived under a tree after that. Before long they told me to take my sheep and cattle away, for they were eating the small trees needed to beautify the national parks. Since I had no place to put my animals, I let them run loose. I took my wife and children, and they took some hens, and we went where other families like ours had already gone. It was discouraging, too, to leave my maturing wheat and oats. I found work, then, in various places, as a hired man, at odd jobs; I worked at any job that I could get. The town officials of San Martin de los Andes later gave me this small piece of land on which we now live; it is very stoney and little will grow on it. But for the time being at least we can call it our place. I still work at odd jobs."

Cattle, at the present time, are grazed on land leased from the Argen- 648
tine Government, usually under a communal lease administered by the 427
cacique. Manuel Pañefülu, cacique of Malleo (pl. 77, *1*), had leased such land for the 45 families under his jurisdiction. Each family lived on a portion of the land and had some under cultivation. The cacique pointed out his wheat field with just pride. Animals of all families were grazed on common pasturelands. Every owner, toward evening, came to the pasture, collected his animals, drove them home, and placed them in corrals for the night, to be again taken to the pasture in the morning. The total area leased by the Malleo people was approximately 13,500 acres.

After the grain begins to sprout, families take their cattle and 221
sheep to the higher valleys of the Andes for summer grazing, which 233
is also a communal affair. The danger to unfenced wheat fields is

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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thus lessened, and pastures near the homesteads can grow to maturity for winter grazing. Grazing in the higher valleys needs no lease, and therefore no payment has to be made. Many homesteads are completely closed for the duration of summer grazing; in an occasional household two persons, seldom three, are left to care for chickens and other fowl. In Quilaquina area on January 4 (1952) there was not a 4-footed animal to be seen, and most homesteads looked deserted. Each family, on return from summer grazing, brings with it as much hay as it can haul. This is stored for winter forage, usually in shack-like shelters.

Wealth, in the early days, consisted of sheep and cattle; in more recent times, of horses also. Old informants spoke of large herds belonging to their families formerly. These were owned by the father. Children owned no animals. The husband of a 70-year-old woman had owned more than 100 horses, 60 cows, and several hundred sheep. No one can lay claim to wealth today. Ownership of 4-footed animals is now restricted by the Government—apportionment is per family, not according to the size of the family. One of my informants owned 5 calves and a large number of turkeys, geese, ducks, and chickens; another, 3 pairs of oxen, 5 horses, and several sheep; another, "just enough sheep for our meat supply"; and still another, 4 oxen, 5 horses, 32 sheep, 13 geese, turkeys, and chickens. Several families were raising doves for food.

### AGRICULTURE AND HORTICULTURE

Wheat (kachilla) and corn (tapalwa) were cultivated in the early days; wild quinoa and a species of wild barley (kawella) were collected. Today, wheat, barley (now called kawella), and oats (huinca kawella, barley of Whites) are raised by every family fortunate enough to have a glade or some cleared land. Dung of sheep and goats is utilized as fertilizer. In general, plowing is done with a wooden plow drawn by a pair of oxen (pl. 75, *1*). Men scatter seed by hand while walking across the fields.

Usually grain stored for winter use is consumed before ears of the newly planted grain have ripened. The first ripened ears of wheat are stripped off their stalks by hand, "as we used to strip off wild grain in the early days and all wheat before we had sickles," and are threshed in a basket with the feet, as formerly. At harvest time the grain is cut with a sickle and threshed by horses tramping on it in a fenced-in circular area, known as lila (pl. 75, *3*). If the lila is small, 5 or 6 horses do the tramping; if much larger, as many as 10 or 12 are used.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche



used to tamp down the fields following the harrowing, but this is now somewhat rare.

Three plowings, widely spaced, followed by seeding and harrowing (and rolling) is the stated ideal to which various accommodations are made. This holds for the coastal, the central, and the Andean zones. The exigencies of weather, along with poor drainage, generally prevent the ideal pattern from being realized.

If a three-field system is adhered to, the initial preparation of *barbecho* may take place in the spring (October-November), when the soil is not too wet, and the second plowing is done in the immediate postharvest season (March), at which time sowing may take place. It is during March, especially, that land is also cleared of stubble and brush by burning. Fires may be seen over the countryside day and night. Sometimes these get out of control, causing damage to buildings and recently harvested crops. Indeed, stacks of chaff (*muelles de paja*) are often set afire purposely, rather than saved, since wheat chaff is considered inferior fodder.

For the most part, preplanting preparations are nearly completed by the middle of April, but because of early rains some planting has to be postponed until there is a temporary break in the weather. According to traditional belief, such a time comes late in June (around St. John's Day), and those farmers who failed to sow before the heavy rains came count heavily on this expectation. To a certain extent, the planting of spring wheat would forestall such a risk, but the practice is generally unknown to the Mapuche.

Wheat is the principal crop on most reservations and is sown in March, April, and May, depending on weather and soil conditions, and harvested in January and February. Oats are grown in a ratio of 1:6 to wheat. They are primarily a cash crop, not being valued as food by the Mapuche, and represent risk capital in a limited sense. If too much rain spoils the oat crop, reducing its commercial value, the harvest is used for winter fodder rather than sold. Oats and wheat, which contain large amounts of wild seeds, such as *arvejilla*, *yuyo*, *rébano*, and chicory, also have little commercial value and are withheld from market.

Some quinoa is grown in small amounts for the home manufacture of *mudai* (a beverage), and oca is raised, at least in the Andean foothills, where it serves as a substitute for potatoes. Melons, squash, and cucumbers, while grown locally, do not figure importantly in the in-

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4



622 554 near the groves of araucarias. But the power of the chief is absolute, and his word is law to his most distant subjects. At an order from him they leave their toldos, wives, and children, and repair mounted, and ready for any service, to his head-quarters. His wealth is considerable: besides the [556] numerous flocks and herds, one of the toldos was used simply as a treasury, where his stores of silver ornaments, ponchos, mantles, &c., were safely stowed away.

202 I was present in his toldo at the arrival of a messenger. The Indian, who had evidently come from a long distance, did not venture to enter until commanded to do so, when, with the utmost respect, he took his seat at a distance from the chief, communicated his message, received his orders, and retired; when again ready for the road he appeared to receive final instructions, after which he mounted his horse and rode off without more ado.

622 554 The subordinate caciques, whose office and rank are hereditary, appeared to be finer and more intelligent men than the rank and file. Whether this was owing to a difference of race, or merely to their aristocratic descent and hereditary refinement of features and bearing, I cannot say; but their superiority was very marked; whereas among the Tehuelches no such difference between the caciques and their clansmen is observable. The superiority of these semi-civilized Araucanos to their southern neighbours was evident in every way, save only bodily strength. Their 131 residence in a more fertile country, near the apple and araucaria groves, gives them great advantages over the 241 nomad Patagonians. They cultivate wheat, small quantities 221 of which were brought to us for sale; besides storing the 273 natural harvest of piñones and apples, from which, as before stated, they brew cider of unusual strength, and also distil 'pulco,' an intoxicating liquor, from the algarroba bean. My 197 intercourse with both Foyel's people and those at Manzanas was not sufficiently long to enable me to become conversant with their language and customs, which have been described